302 genipap. They have given up for keeps the tamankurá or cotton
881 ornaments they wore in childhood. Some of them change names,
[553] if they did not already do so at the time of their first menstruation. They eat nothing but green-maize cauí [a soup]. Both men and women sing the kaó, a kind of national anthem. When the whole ceremony is over, the girl is painted with the genipap stripes characteristic of women.

304 The tattooing is done by certain mature men. They need not
412 be sorcerer--medicine men, but some of them are, like Urukumy for example (Photo. 53). The aim of the tattooing is to differentiate the women from the girls. The small knife used to make the incisions (Photo. 22) is called voamé. It consists of a fragment of
[237] rodent incisor embedded in a small piece of thin cane wrapped in a narrow strip of philodendron inner bark. This strip strengthens
[314] the small rod, which was previously covered with resin to provide a better hold. The tooth fragment in the knife reproduced here
[237] (Photo. 22) consists of that part of a paca (kanoanó) incisor nearest to the gum, and thus not of its cutting section. The edge was created by scraping the fragment with a knife. Sometimes the fragment is also taken from the tooth of an agouti (akutí, ankuchí), another rodent that, like the paca, belongs to the Caviidae family.

304 Krause (2, 404) writes of Tapirapé tattooing: "Tattooing exists
114 among married women; they cut vertical lines in their chins, and a line that goes down obliquely from either side of the mouth." As we can see, this does not quite agree with the tattooing I observed. And the drawings published by Krause (ibid., Fig. 262), although they disagree with the description above by the same author in showing several oblique lines originating at the corners of the lips, rather than just one, still do not resemble the crossed horizontal and vertical lines that I saw on the faces of Tapirapé women. [Ed., the last paragraph of p. 115, pp. 116-119 which include several pages of comparative data on scarification, and all but the last paragraph on p. 120 are omitted.]

304 107:120] To summarize, we may say that the special character
171 of female tattooing differentiates the Tapirapé from all neighboring
[114] tribes about which anything is known in this connection. The data of Herrmann Meyer about the Aravine and their tattooing, which are given in Chapter 4 of this work, are not sufficient to be taken into account in studying this topic. It should be pointed out further

of about four, a girl of about 11, and another girl of less than a year. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

We see, therefore, that the Tapirapé resemble the Karajá and Kayapó, as well as Indians of the upper Xingu basin, the Tupinambá, and other Tupi tribes, in practicing the couvade. [Ed., end of Vol. 123.]

[124:139] In Tapirapé, herang means "name" and corresponds to the word héra cited by Montoya (2, II, 154) and céra by Stradelli (413). The inhabitants of Tampiitaua told me that, among them, it is the mother who gives the newborn baby a name and who perforates the lower lip and ear lobes of a boy with a bone pin at dawn of the day following birth. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

No two or more Tapirapé ever bear the same name at the same time. I was able to discover the meaning of only a few. Animal names prevail among the women. In 1935 there was a woman over 40 years old whose name was Purangkeí, that is, "little electric eel." Another, about 35 years old, was called Tamanuaí, or "great anteater" with [124:140] the addition of the diminutive i, and an old woman of about 45 had the name Anampaí, anampá being a fresh-water eel. A girl of 11 was called Chauevuyra, that is, "fresh-water ray," and another girl of six Tanchahó, the name of the white-lipped peccary. In 1947 there was a year-old girl whose name, Kaí, is that of the capuchin monkey. Among the men, I only found one in 1935 whose name I could identify with that of an animal, and it was a generic name, Vuyraí, "little bird," a somewhat humorous appellation in view of the man s thick, robust body. Other translatable names, aside from those of animals, are Kanuana, belonging to an eight-year-old girl, meaning "thunder" and "gourd rattle," and the names of two boys I knew in 1947, who were two and four years old, respectively, Yvytuí, "wind," and Ekonomíchinga, "white boy."

According to Gabriel Soares de Sousa (370), the Tupinambá bore the names of "animals, fish, birds, trees, foods, weapons and various other things," according to Staden (r 1) of "forest animals," and according to Vicente de Salvador (41) of "animals, plants, or whatever chances to come before their eyes."

This last author also notes about those Indians that "... they do not regard killing as prowess unless they break heads, even

000 those of people killed by others, and whatever number of heads they break, that many names they take, casting off the name given by their father at birth... but the name they take they will not tell (even when begged to do so) except at great festivities with wine and songs in their honor..."

●553 It sometimes happened that when I asked for the name of a certain Tapirapé, the person in question would give me one name and some other person present would give another. When I asked which of the names was more commonly used, I was always told that a Tapirapé adult, as a rule, has "many" names. According to what I was able to observe, however, each person was called, as a rule, by a single name which remained the same throughout the time of my visit in 1935. This does not invalidate the information they gave me, however, for a Tapirapé does receive other names aside from the one he is given at birth, although this is done for reasons very different from those leading to the proliferation of names among the Tupinambá. Reverend Kegel witnessed a festive gathering in September, which he described to me as follows. After sundown, in the moonlight, the men sat on mats in the Tampiitaua plaza divided into two groups, one facing the other. One of the leaders of the village stood between the two groups, inventing names. Whenever a name came to his mind, he would call one of the men present, and walk hither and yon humming a song that included the new name of the person he had called, the name being sometimes jocular and sometimes serious in meaning.

[124:141] Kamairahó, the principal leader, told me that at three different ages he had had successively the following names: [551] Pancheengví, Ananavuytingí, and Kanchoariof, Only after the death of his father did he adopt his present name, which was the name of his father and of all his male ancestors in the paternal line. He added that only then did he marry. He stated further that like him, all Tapirapé have several successive names through childhood and adulthood.

It may be, as I shall show, that they were given these names but did not use them. In Tampiitaua in 1947 I identified nine Tapirapé males and six females, and with less certainty another male and seven other females, whom I had known at the time of my previous visit. In 1935, I had figured out the ages of the nine

553 individuals in the first group as 8, 12, 17, 18, 20, 26, and 38 years, respectively; that of the six females in the same group as 1 1/2, 4-5, 20, 25, 28, and 30 years; that of the male identified without complete certainty as 4 years; and that of the seven females about whom I had similar doubts as 3, 6, 7, 7, 13, 20, and 26 years. Now, among those 23 individuals, only three were using totally different names in 1947 from those they had used in 1935. Incidentally, all the Tapirapé whom Wagley recognized on photographs taken by myself in 1935 still had in 1939 the same name they had used when photographed. Some slight phonetic differences between the names of certain persons as registered by myself in 1935 and in 1947 probably resulted from variations in the pronunciation of the informants, or else existed only in the ear of the researcher. In 1947, as in 1935, two names were sometimes given instead of one. A young man who had been 12 years old in 1935, and who at that time had only the name Tampirí, was called Tampirí-Chamaneyma in 1947. A woman whose name I recorded as Airuvitynga in 1935 (tynga, like chinga, means "white") was called Eirova-Chaeroí 12 years later as an elderly lady and the wife of a new husband (the final i in Airuvi is added for euphonic reasons, and this word is otherwise identical to Eirova).

The three individuals who had changed names altogether, on the other hand, were called Tanupanchoa, Panchaí, and Kovyra at the time of my first visit. The first one, who was a man of 45 or 50 in 1947, had adopted the name of his younger brother Kamanané, who died after 1935. The second one, who appeared to be about 35 in 1947 and who had become a shaman and acquired despotic tendencies, had come to be called Vuatanamy, the name of the late sorcerer--medicine man who had been the toughest of the Tampiitaua leaders in 1935. The new Vuatanamy was not living at the time in the house of the former one, was [124:142] about 20 years younger, and to my knowledge was not a close relative. In 1935, Kovyra, a boy about eight years old, was already regarded as a sort of future successor to Kamairahó, the principal leader. In reference to this he was sometimes called by the man's name in a joking tone, with the addition of the diminutive suffix i. In 1947 he no longer used his own childhood name and had been addressed exclusively by the name of the deceased leader for some time, although still with the addition of the diminutive for he was

553 still young and lacked the political weight of the illustrious dead man.

One day, as I talked to Kamairahó about the "name-giving festivity" mentioned above, I complained about not having received a Tapirapé name as Reverend Kegel had and this only because my companion had the opportunity to be present at that gathering while I did not. The Indian immediately gave me his own name. Yves d'Evreux writes of the Tupinambá in Maranhão:
171 "They also have another manner of giving names, and this is when
553 they are fond of you, and show the high regard in which they hold you, by giving you their own name"[translated from French]. The exchange of names for motives of respect and friendship is a custom found among tribes in various parts of South America. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

It should be added that I, naturally, also gave my name to
553 Kamairahó. Such exchanges of names, at least among the Tapirapé, are to some extent merely done in jest. Thus, I was called Kamairahó only a few times and smilingly, while I never heard Reverend Kegel called by his Tapirapé name or the Indian leader by my own.

It certainly cannot be said that the Tapirapé hide their
171 name, or one of their names, as did the Tupinambá according to
551 the above-quoted observation by Vicente de Salvador. The inhabitants of Tampiitaua told me their names with apparent pleasure, and many of them repeated the name several times until I pronounced it properly, and asked me about it [124:143] again on subsequent occasions to see whether I had learned it correctly. They differed in this respect from the Kayapó, who do not reveal their own name according to Krause (2, 401). The latter was able to find out their names only through a third person, and they were given in a very low voice. The Karajá never made it a problem to tell me their own names. Like the Tapirapé, they are very desirous to find out about ours, and soon after the visitor s arrival they ask for his name, that of his wife, his children, and other relatives.

On the other hand, many of the inhabitants of Tampiitaua
551 were ignorant of the names of their deceased parents, and nearly
171 all were unfamiliar with those of their grandparents and other rela-
173 tives who were no longer alive, so we cannot assert that the Tapirapé are as interested in their own genealogy as are, for example, the Kaingang tribe of the so-called Botocudo of Santa

Tapirapé village which he would have hesitated to relate on home grounds. He told me of adulterous affairs in process and of the growing determination among one group of kinsmen to assassinate Urukumu, the powerful medicine man, because they suspected him of performing death-dealing sorcery.

After two weeks in Furo de Pedra, I found that it would be necessary for Valentim Gomes and me to go to Rio de Janeiro. It was not possible for Champukwi to accompany us and so I arranged for two Brazilian frontiersmen to return him to a point on the Tapirapé River from which he could easily hike to his village in a day. Valentim and I then began our slow trip up the Araguaia River to the motor road and thence to Rio de Janeiro. Two months later, rid of malaria and with a new stock of supplies, we returned to spend the long rainy months from November until the end of May in the Village of the Tapirs. Champukwi was there to welcome us, and he came each day to help repair and enlarge our house. We easily fell into our former friendly relationship, now strengthened by the experience in common of the trip to Furo de Pedra and by the feeling which many anthropologists have shared with the people of their communities—that anyone who returns is an "old friend."

My return to the village that November marked, in a sense, the end of what might be called the first phase of my relationship with Champukwi as friend and as anthropological informant. During the course of at least 200 hours of conversation (many of which may be methodologically dignified as interviews), I had learned much about Champukwi as a person as well as about Tapirapé culture. I knew that as a small boy he had come from Fish Village, where his parents had died, to live in the Village of the Tapirs. He had lived with his father's younger brother, Kamaira, who was the leader of a large household. He even confided to me his boyhood name; Tapirapé change their names several times during their lifetimes and mention of a person's first childhood name, generally that of a fish, an animal, or simply descriptive of some personal characteristic, causes laughter among the audience and considerable embarrassment to the individual. I knew that Champukwi had been married before he took his current wife, and that his first wife had died in childbirth. He revealed that her kinsmen had gossiped that her death was caused by his lack of respect for the food taboos imposed